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CITIES AND COURTESANS

MIKA KAJAVA

In an elegant note,¹ Richard Janko has recently suggested that the two "proverbs" in iambic trimetre cited separately by Strabo² in his discussion of Corinth might form a couplet:

οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς·
Μαλέαν δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάθου τῶν οἴκαδε.

As the first verse (well known as rendered in Latin by Horace: *non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum*³) is, on the authority of Hesychius,⁴ attributable to Aristophanes, we would be confronted with a passage from a comic play, labelled by Janko "a wry discussion of the painful choice of routes around the Peloponnese faced by poor and rich travellers alike – either a tedious and risky journey round Malea, or the financially ruinous short cut via Corinth".

Janko may very well be right.⁵ Why I tackle this detail is because it brings to mind some other proverbs or similar expressions referring to the oddities and dangers lurking in Greek cities or to anything abnormal observable in them. In

¹ CQ 57 (2007) 296–7.

² Geog. 8,6,20: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παροιμιάζονται / καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ παροιμία φησίν.

³ *Epist.* 1,17,36.

⁴ Hsch. *o* 1799 = Ar. *fr.* 928 (Kassel – Austin, vol. III,2).

⁵ He does not exclude that a third "proverb" about Corinth appearing shortly afterwards in Strabo (*geog.* 8,6,23: Κόρινθος ὀφρυάζει τε καὶ κοιλαίνεται) could be from the same play. Note that this verse is also recorded by Erasmus (*adag.* 2,4,42) as are the other two cited by Strabo (*adag.* 1,4,1 [οὐ παντὸς, etc.] and 2,4,46 [Malea]). Of these, the former also appears at the very beginning of Erasmus' *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo* (also in 1,50 and 1,154). Many variants in Latin emerged in the 16th century and later (e.g., *paucis est adire Corinthum*, etc.); the same idea, though expressed in different terms, still survives in many modern languages. – Various Greek epigrams inspired by Corinth have been collected by Βασ. Λαζανάς, Ἄρχαία ἑλληνικὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐμπνευσμένα ἀπὸ τὴν Κόρινθο καὶ τὴν περιοχή της, Ἀθήνα 1990².

such cases, deviation (in some respect) from the norm and standard is the usual *sine qua non*. There is not much to be related or remembered about average cities and their people. What is likely to become proverbial is bad behaviour, strange habits or anything against the established norms. This generally concerns the jokes told by people of one city (or nation) about those living in another, and this is why many of the Greek verbs derived from toponyms have negative connotations. It is true that many such verbs referred either to the speaking of a dialect or language (δωρίζειν, θρακίζειν, etc.) or to military and political alliances (ἀρκαδίσειν 'take the side of the Arcadians')⁶, or described some local habits (like ἐνθετταλίζεσθαι 'to dress in the Thessalian manner'). However, while many verbs of this type were predominantly negative (αἰγυπτιάζειν, κρητίζειν, φοινικίζειν, etc.), there seems to be none that would indicate a favourable view of the people and their habits in any city.⁷ Such is human nature.

The city of Corinth is a prime example of a prosperous and luxurious city with a wide range of attractions available to travellers. In addition to products "made in Corinth" (like the top quality vases), the city offered other enticements as well. Corinthian prostitutes were notorious all over the Mediterranean. There was a strong tradition of this sort of activity in Corinth, and indeed the phenomenon might partly go back to the ritual promiscuity at the local sanctuary of Aphrodite Porne. In the course of time, however, the practice would have developed into an expensive prostitution against which Greek travellers might well be warned (as in the "proverb" cited above).⁸

⁶ Μηδίζειν 'to side with the Medes' seems to be the earliest known verb of this type (Hdt. 4,144; Thuc. 3,62, etc.; μηδισμός occurs in the same authors).

⁷ The evidence has been collected by María Teresa Amado Rodríguez, 'Verbos denominativos derivados de gentilicios y topónimos', *Myrtia* 10 (1995) 67–103. For a number of similar verbs, cf. M. Casevitz, 'Hellenismos: formation et fonction des verbes en -ΙΖΩ et de leurs dérivés', in S. Said (ed.), 'ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ. Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 25–27 octobre 1989 (Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche Orient et la Grèce antiques 11), Leiden 1991, 12 ff. For the well-known case of ποινικάζεν (cf. φοινικίζειν), see G.P. Edwards – R.B. Edwards, 'The Meaning and Etymology of ποινικαστάς', *Kadmos* 16 (1977) 131–140.

⁸ Such warnings are explicitly reflected in lexicographers' comments on the verse οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς, etc. (see *Ar. fr.* 928 K-A comm., and cf. κορινθιάζεσθαι in *Ar. fr.* 370 K-A 'to practise fornication', and many related terms deriving from the toponym; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse. Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, Oxford 1991, 175). Note also that, according to Aulus Gellius (1,8,3–4), the verse οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς, etc. had been explained by Sotion, a Peripatetic of uncertain date, as referring to Lais, a legendary prostitute active in Corinth around the mid-4th century (a homonymous courtesan, the elder Lais, had died some decades earlier; epigrams related to 'Lais': Λαζανάς, *cit.* n. 5, 78 ff.). Those curious about the

Numerous Greek courtesans are mentioned by name (and by nickname), and we even know that considerable lists of them were produced in antiquity. The names included in those of Athenian courtesans amounted to hundreds.⁹ Many famous prostitutes permanently or temporarily based in Corinth are also on record: Cyrene, Lais (see n. 8), Leaina, Myrrhine, Sicyone, Sinope, etc., all interesting names, and perhaps interesting persons, too. For various reasons, I shall concentrate on one of them, namely Sinope. Thracian by origin, she was primarily active in Athens where she had come from the island of Aegina bringing with her an establishment of harlots.¹⁰ But since Sinope also appears in reference to Corinth, the impression is that she was one of those expensive courtesans who were frequently on the move, so ensuring her availability to well-to-do clients.

Greek toponyms and geographic names in general were not unusual as personal names in antiquity.¹¹ However, in the case of Sinope, a double origin for her name might be conceivable: Sinope was an early Paphlagonian colony founded by Miletus in 631 BC (now Sinop at the midpoint on the northern coast of Turkey), thus named, according to ancient tradition, after one of the daughters of the river-god Asopus. A variant of the story (fully developed in Diodorus¹²) goes that Apollo took this Naiad nymph from Boeotia to Paphlagonia where she gave birth to Syrus (whence the Syrians) and where the city of Sinope was named after her.

appearance of the "Lais Corinthiaca" may wish to have a look at the imaginary painting by Hans Holbein the Younger from 1526 (Kunstmuseum, Basle). – Regarding the alleged existence of sacred prostitution in Corinth, see now S.L. Budin, in: C.A. Faraone – L.K. McClure (eds.), *Prostitutes & Courtesans in the Ancient World*, Madison (Wisc.) 2006, 84 ff., warning against overinterpretation of the evidence (esp. Pind. *fr.* 122); for a sound evaluation of the sources, see also M. Beard – J. Henderson, 'With this Body I Thee Worship', *Gender & History* 9 (1997) 480 ff. (republished in: M. Wyke [ed.], *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford 1998, 56 ff.).

⁹ Evidence in Ath. 583d-e. A comprehensive "Prosopographia meretricum" is clearly a desideratum (cf. also J. Linderski, *RhMus* 140 [1997] 162 = *Roman Questions* II, Stuttgart 2007, 332).

¹⁰ Jacoby, *FGH* 115 F 253 (Theopompus of Chius), from Ath. 595a.

¹¹ See, most recently, H. Solin, 'Mobilità socio-geografica nell'impero romano. Orientali in Occidente. Considerazioni isagogiche', in: *Acta XII congressus internationalis epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae*, Barcelona 2007, 1374.

¹² Diod. Sic. 4,72,2, but cf. already Corinna, *PMG* 654, col. 2,39 and 3,21 (on which see B. Gentili – L. Lomiento, 'Corinna, Le Asopidi (PMG 654 col. 3.12–51)', *QUCC* n.s. 68 [2001] 7 ff., republished in A.F. Basson – W.J. Dominik [eds.], *Literature, Art, History: Studies on Classical Antiquity and Tradition in Honour of W.J. Henderson*, Frankfurt am Main 2003, 211 ff.; for Asopus' daughters in general, cf. H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides 1: Die Siegeslieder*, Leiden 1997, 145 ff.).

Whatever the model and the exact origin of the courtesan's name, she need not, of course, have had any personal connections with the city of Sinope. But an indirect link between the two emerged later on through the Greek verb *σινωπίζειν*, explained by late lexicographers as having taken its meaning from the unseemly behaviour of Sinope (Hsch. *σινωπίσαι· τοῦτο πεποιήται παρὰ τὴν ἑταίραν Σινώπην· ἐκωμωδεῖτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀσχημονεῖν*). The explanatory phrase given by Hesychius seems to break off, but it may be supplemented on the basis of later sources. In Suda's version, the comment goes as follows: *Σινωπίσαι τοῦτο πεποιήται παρὰ τὴν ἑταίραν Σινώπην· ἐκωμωδεῖτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ κατασχημονῆσαι, καθάπερ Ἄλεξις ἔφη*.¹³ A further explanation of unknown but clearly late date, preserved in the *Appendix proverbiorum*, claims that Sinope the courtesan came from Sinope (4,72 [CPG I p. 451]: *Σινωπίσαι· ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσχημονῆσαι· ἀπὸ ἑταίρας τινὸς ἐκ Σινώπης*).

When and by whom the verb deriving from Sinope's name was coined remains unknown, but the testimony of the lexicographers makes it likely that it was adopted, perhaps even first introduced, by the comic writer Alexis (c. 375–270 BC) whose poetry is unfortunately known only from fragments. We know that Alexis "mentions" Sinope in his *Cleobouline*, and it is in fact this mention that seems to date the play to the first half of Alexis' career, before c. 320.¹⁴ This is because of what is otherwise related of Sinope's chronology: she appears together with another courtesan in Demosthenes' speech against Androtion (from 355): "he [A.] distrained upon Sinope and Phanostrate, who were prostitutes certainly, but owed no property-tax".¹⁵ Other mentions (in comedy) of Sinope allow the collocating of her *floruit* to c. 360–330.¹⁶ She may but need not have been dead when Alexis attacked her indecency, and it is probably in such a context that the verb *σινωπίζειν* was used (in *Cleobouline* or in another play).

¹³ Similarly Phot. *lex.* (the form of the entry "*σινωπῆσαι*" ms. was emended long ago), cf. also Apost. *paroem.* 15,50: *Σινωπίζεις· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκολασταίνεις· τοῦτο πεποιήται παρὰ τὴν ἑταίραν Σινώπην· ἐκωμωδεῖτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ κατασχημονῆσαι, καθάπερ Ἄλεξις*.

¹⁴ W. Geoffrey Arnott, *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary*, Cambridge 1996, 293–4, *fr.* 109 (from Ath. 586a: *μνημονεύει*).

¹⁵ Dem. 22,56, transl. J.H. Vince, Loeb ed. 1964.

¹⁶ T.B.L. Webster, 'Chronological Notes on Middle Comedy', *CQ* n.s. 2 (1952) 21 (many references to Sinope are collected in Ath. 586a: add *Amphis fr.* 23,3 K-A and *Anaxilas fr.* 22,12 f. K-A; cf. Arnott, *cit.* n. 14, 294).

This verb is the sort of popular expression that would have been easily diffused in Athens and elsewhere. However, as most of the verbs in -ίζω deriving from place names were negatively (and sexually) loaded, one may assume that σινωπίζειν began to be associated not only with prostitution and loose morals in general but also with those prevailing in the city of Sinope in particular. Those not familiar with the origin of the verb might have thought of the city in the first place. Like many similar verbs, σινωπίζειν would have referred to the seemingly flourishing immorality and the rampant vice in Sinope. If this is so, the decent people of Sinope would not have been very pleased to hear the term pronounced. As far as I know, ancient sources do not report anything particularly sensational about Sinope and its people.¹⁷

At any rate, it seems that the verb σινωπίζειν came to be known early on, perhaps even in the courtesan's lifetime. If still alive, Sinope was evidently not a young lady when the verb was coined, and this point is clearly relevant, as may be inferred from a nickname given to her. Sinope was called *Abydos* "because of being an old hag" (διὰ τὸ γράυς εἶναι).¹⁸ Why is that? Obviously there is something here that escapes us, however one may assume that (the Hellespontic city of) Abydos was chosen so as to create a contrast to (the city of) Sinope. While the former appears to have been in a state of decay, the latter was prospering in the late 4th century. Moreover, various sources clearly suggest that Abydos was considered an unpleasant place to visit, and indeed a Sodom when compared with a city like Sinope.¹⁹

¹⁷ Diogenes, the famous Cynic, is perhaps the exception that proves the rule. But he was an itinerant *kosmopolites*, based in Athens and elsewhere after having left Sinope in consequence of a problem involving the adulteration of local coinage.

¹⁸ This information goes back to Book VI of the *Κωμοφδούμενα* by Herodicus of Babylon (second century BC), cited by Ath. 586a and Harp. 273,6–7. The explanation is also reported (without source) by later lexicographers. – Cf. below n. 26 for a possible association between Alcibiades and *Abydos*.

¹⁹ The very ancient city of Abydos in Egypt does not play a role here. One may note, incidentally, that in the absence of distinguishing epithets, deciding between homonymous cities would have been a difficult task. Regarding the case of Abydos, this is nicely shown by a papyrus (*P.Louvre* inv. 7733 v.; second century BC) where a commentary on a cryptic epigram helps to choose between the two homonyms (ὁμωνυμία pap.). The clue is provided by the oysters mentioned in the epigram: ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐν τῇ Θη[βαί]δι ὄστρεια εἶναι (whereas the oysters of the Hellespontic Abydos were well known in antiquity), cf. *Suppl. Hell.* adesp. papyr. no. 984, lines 14–7; D. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981, no. CLIII (p. 469 ff.). – Note also Ἄβυδον (*sic*; "ἢ οὐδετέρως λέγεται") in the territory of the Peucetii in southern Italy (Steph. *ethn.* s.v. Ἄβυδοι· τρεῖς πόλεις, quoting from earlier sources).

Besides showing an interesting history, the old (Milesian) colony of Abydus enjoyed a most strategic position due to its location (it was here that Xerxes bridged the Hellespont in 480; another famous enterprise was undertaken in 1810 when Lord Byron swam the strait from Abydus to Sestus, thus following in the steps of the mythical lover Leander). But a good location can sometimes be exploited: the local harbour-dues were proverbially vexatious, being sometimes called Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα, "Abydene dessert".²⁰ This expression was further taken to refer to the extortion and slandering of foreigners and strangers in general; similarly, a sycophant anywhere could earn the epithet of *Abydokomes* (as early as Aristophanes).²¹ However, a further (original?) context from which the expression "Abydene dessert" may have derived was the peculiar "dessert" the Abydenes used to offer after a dinner or a feast: small boisterous children with their nurses were brought in with the consequence that a terrible noise was created, which would have been most annoying to the guests. This explanation is given by Zenobius (second century) after his affirmation that the phrase was used of anything unpleasant (ἐπὶ τῶν ἀηδῶν τάττεται ἢ παροιμία). "Abydene dessert" was clearly an old proverb because, according to the sophist, it had been adopted by Eudoxus (of the Middle Comedy) in his *Hypobolimaïos*.²² One may assume that in comedy, in particular, Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα was used of those unpleasant situations when someone appeared in the wrong place at the wrong time (cf. Suda s.v. ὅταν ἀκαίρως τινὸς ἐπιφανέντος ἀηδία τις ἦ).

²⁰ Thus Ath. 641a (from Aristides, a collector of proverbs; cf. Müller, *FHG* IV 326, fr. 31; *CPG* I, xii): τέλος τί ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλλιμένιον. Cf. Suda s.v. δεκατευτήριον: τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀβύδῳ πορθμεῖον. ὡς εὐθὺς τὴν Ἀβυδὸν (scil. εἰσιόντα) λυμανεῖται καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ δεκατευτήριον. Note, interestingly, that when Zabergan, leader of the Kutrigur Huns, attacked Abydus in the late 550s, the local customhouse is explicitly reported as having been affected (Agath. *hist.* 178,24–5 Keydell).

²¹ Abydenes as sycophants: Diog. *paroem.* 1,1; Zenob. *epit.* 1,1; Hsch. s.v. – Ἀβυδοκόμης: Ar. fr. 755 K-A (cf. J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane. Études de langue et de style*, Paris 1962, 425); Paus. *Att.* s.v. Ἀβυδος: ἐπὶ συκοφάντου τάττεται ἢ λέξις διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν συκοφάντας εἶναι τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς: καὶ Ἀβυδοκόμαι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ συκοφαντεῖν κομῶντες. τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰκαίου καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίου. κωμωδοῦνται δὲ <οἱ> Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ εἰς ἀκολασίαν (similarly Phot. *lex.* s.v.; in Eusth. *comm.* II. 357,1–4 [vol. I p. 559], the comment closes as follows: κωμωδοῦνται δέ, φασί, καὶ εἰς μαλακίαν οἱ τῆς Ἀβύδου).

²² Zenob. *epit.* 1,1: Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀηδῶν τάττεται ἢ παροιμία. Μέμνηται δὲ αὐτῆς Εὐδοξὸς ἐν Ὑποβολιμαίῳ. Φασὶ δὲ ὅτι τοῖς Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἔθος ἦν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς προσάγειν τοὺς παῖδας μετὰ τῶν τιθῶν τοῖς εὐωχομένοις: κεκραγῶτων δὲ τῶν παίδων καὶ θορύβου γινομένου διὰ τὰς τίθας, ἀηδίαν εἶναι πολλὴν τοῖς δαιτυμόσιν (this explanation is followed by Erasm. *adag.* 2,5,23). – Zenobius continues by saying that the proverb was also used of the extortion of strangers, typical of the Abydenes.

Note, finally, that the place name itself, *Abydos*, could stand for excessive foolishness as well as for disordered and reckless speech.²³

Hosting, like Corinth, a temple dedicated to Aphrodite Porne, Abydos was also widely known for its prostitution.²⁴ Though the story may be false, it is no wonder, therefore, that Alcibiades was reported in some abusive orations to have sailed to Abydos either to learn new methods of licentiousness from the local women or because he was desperately in love with Medontis, an Abydene courtesan, based on the mere reports of her charms.²⁵ Considering, moreover, the claims of Alcibiades' exceptional effeminacy, his alleged Abydene adventures might have provoked comments such as: "Have you heard that "Abydos" is now a man?"²⁶ An elderly prostitute, or an "old hag" like Sinope, might well be imagined as working in such a milieu.

When exactly Sinope had earned the sobriquet *Abydos* is unknown. However, the mention of the nickname in Herodicus' work on the stuff of comedy (see n. 18) as well as the additional information provided by Athenaeus on Sinope in (seven) comic writers (see n. 16), make it very likely that the literary ambience in question was Middle Comedy. The verb *σινωπίζειν* and the nickname *Abydos* may have been introduced around the same time. What is more, the verb **ἀβυδίζειν*, derived from the place name, and with negative connotations, may plausibly have existed in some work unknown to the lexicographers.

²³ *Anecdota Graeca e codd. mss. bibl. reg. Parisin.* I, ed. L. Bachmann, Lipsiae 1828, 5: Ἄβυδον: φλυαρίαν τὴν πολλήν; Ἄβυδος: ἐπὶ ταραχῇ καὶ εὐχερείᾳ λόγου.

²⁴ Jacoby, *FGH* 84 F 9 (Neanthes of Cyzicus), providing an *aition* for the sanctuary (Ath. 572e).

²⁵ Antiph. *fr.* 67 (Thalheim) and Lys. *fr.* 4 (Thalheim): R.J. Littman, 'The Loves of Alcibiades', *TAPhA* 101 (1970) 264–5. He also points out (p. 264) that Alcibiades and Abydos may have been connected in Aristophanes' *Triphales* (aimed at Alcibiades), which mentions Abydos as a place to sell young boys (Ar. *fr.* 556 K-A). This information comes in the same passage in Athenaeus (525b) where Antiphon's attack is cited.

²⁶ From a passage in the *Soldiers* by Hermippus of Old Comedy (Herm. *fr.* 57 K-A, lines 6–7: ἦισθου τὸν Ἄβυδον ὡς / ἄνηρ γεγένηται; preserved in Ath. 525a). On this interpretation (already suggested by Bergk and Kaibel), τὸν Ἄβυδον would be an allusion to Alcibiades (cf. Sinope = *Abydos*); reserves are expressed by D. Harvey in: D. Harvey – J. Wilkins (eds.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes. Studies in Athenian Old Comedy*, London 2000, 280 ff.; cf. also M.L. Gambato, in: *Ateneo, I deipnosofisti*, vol. III, Roma 2001, 1306 n. 2.

High duties and inhospitality, worldly pleasures and costly courtesans, all elements that would have made Abydus a risky place for an imprudent traveller. The meaning of the exclamatory phrase ἔρρε εἰς ὄλεθρόν τε καὶ Ἄβυδον in Lysias' second speech against Alcibiades (*fr.* 5a Thalheim) would have been clear to anyone listening to the orator.²⁷ Visiting Abydus meant running a risk, and so it was definitely a place to be avoided, but if you went there rashly and heedlessly, it was all your own responsibility. This is the sense of the proverb μὴ εἰκῆ τὴν Ἄβυδον,²⁸ which was generally used of those taking unnecessary risks²⁹ as well as of any hasty and worthless actions.³⁰

If travelling to Abydus was considered a risk, the city was very much like Corinth. Indeed the proverb μὴ εἰκῆ τὴν Ἄβυδον recalls the (Aristophanean?) verse introduced at the beginning of this article (οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς). Though, unfortunately, the extant sources do not provide any clue as to the origin of the Abydus expression, one may not be wrong in assuming that the idea, if not a similar phrasing, goes back to Middle Comedy or even earlier. It is worth noting that a passable metric sequence might be produced with the spelling μηδ' (instead of μὴ): μηδ' εἰκῆ τὴν Ἄβυδον. If so, we would probably be dealing not with what was originally an autonomous proverb but with a citation from a composition in metre. It may not be a coincidence, then, that the style μηδ' εἰκῆ τὴν Ἄβυδον is precisely the one given by both Stephanus (*ethn.* 10,3) and Eustathius (*comm. Dion.* 513,34). These learned scholars may have quoted (word for word?) from some metric piece.³¹

²⁷ Cf. *Lex. Patm.* 153 (Latte, *LGM* p. 163): ἔρρε ἀντὶ τοῦ φθάρητι, ὡς Λυσίας, etc.

²⁸ Scil. πατεῖν Steph. *ethn.*, Eustath. *comm. Dion.*; παραπλεῖν Diog. *paroem.*, Apost. *paroem.*, Suda s.v. εἰκῆ; διαφοιτᾶν Suda *ibid.*

²⁹ Cf. Suda s.v. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν διακινδυνεύοντων.

³⁰ Paus. *Att.* s.v. Ἄβυδος: ... ἦ ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκαίων καὶ οὐδαμινῶν.

³¹ To be precise, however, both scholars have "μηδ' εἰκῆ τὴν Ἄβυδον πατεῖν". But the verb may be simply an additional explanation (cf. above n. 28), unless this is shorthand for a verse (or for an interlinear sequence), something having been omitted before the final πατεῖν (or a suitable form of the same verb). It is obviously useless to dwell on this point, however, though giving some trouble, a mix of anapaest and iamb could perhaps be considered, e.g., μηδ' εἰκῆ τὴν Ἄβυδον ἐπιχειρεῖ πατεῖν / μηδ' εἰκῆ τὴν Ἄβυδον συμφέρεῖ πατεῖν. The verse, if such, or a variation, may not have survived in Byzantine poetry; at least it is not registered among the *initia* (cf. Io. Vassiss, *Initia carminum Byzantinorum* [Suppl. Byz. 8], 2005).

The similarity between the two phrases was duly observed by Erasmus in his remarkable collection of *Adagia* (1,7,93: "*non dissimile sit illi*").³² However, the proverbs were and remained autonomous, and if Corinth and Abydus had been coupled together in some *collectanea proverbiorum* earlier than the 16th century, the sharp-eyed humanist would probably have noticed it. But an amalgamation of the two arrived later on, perhaps based on Erasmus' observation or derived from later scholarship. Without having looked at the sources in any detail, I find that Jacob Masen, a learned Jesuit, poet and historian, registered in his *Palaestra Styli Romani* (Cologne 1659) the following proverb:

"ne temere Abydum *vel* Corinthum : *ubi corrupti mores*".³³

University of Helsinki

³² For the appearance of new comments on the Abydus phrase in the editions subsequent to the Paris ed. pr. of 1500, see R.A.B. Mynors, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 32: *Adages I vi I to I x 100*, Toronto 1989, 328.

³³ J. Masen, *Palaestra Styli Romani, Quae Artem & praesidia Latinè ornatèque quovis styli genere scribendi complectitur, Cum Brevi Graecarum & Romanarum antiquitatum compendio, Et Præceptis Ad Dialogos, Epistolas, & Historias scribendas legendasque necessariis*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1659, p. 403 (under the subtitle 'discrimen'). The version "*ne temere Abydum naviges*" in Iosephus Albertatius, *Epitome adagiorum ex Graecis Latinisque scriptoribus*, Romae 1574, 860, may draw on Apost. *paroem.* 11,52 and Suda s.v. εἰκῆ: in both cases the explanatory verb is παραπλεῖν. But Albertatius would have known Erasmus' collection as well. The "sailing" phrase also occurs in Johann Hilner's *Gnomologicum Graecolatinum*, Lipsiae 1606 (cited by H. Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen* [Carmina med. aev. post. Lat. II/8], Göttingen 1983, 551), obviously taken from earlier collections. Since, in contrast to the Horatian "*non cuivis homini*", there seems to be no trace of "*ne temere Abydum*" in what is known about mediaeval Latin proverbs, the phrase will have been first translated from the Greek at a relatively late date, perhaps by Erasmus himself.